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⁶ Our readers may remember that Boniface VIII. was the first Pope who instituted the Jubilee.—*Vide CATHOLIC LAYMAN*, vol. I. pp. 111-112.

and Fleury, a Roman Catholic historian, denounces the pride of the prelates and abbots, and the soft, licentious life both of the clergy and the monks. A system so tyrannical and corrupt, so alien to the purity of the Gospel, so utterly opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity, could not be established, even in that dark age, without some opposition; and Arnold of Brescia may claim the praise of being the first reformer.

After spending some time in France, where he was a disciple of Peter Abolard, Arnold returned to his native city, took upon him the habit of a monk, and began to denounce the vices of the bishops and clergy. The blameless purity of his life, and the force of his singular eloquence, soon attracted the attention and gained the applause of the multitude. During a short time, the preacher was viewed as a patriot; but the same causes which secured for him the affection and favour of the people, awoke the resentment of the Bishop of Brescia and his partisans, who were stung, perhaps, by the justice, no less than the sharpness of Arnold's rebukes. His discourses, we are told, produced such an effect, that in Brescia and many other towns the clergy fell into great contempt, and became the object of public ridicule.

Truth is always the severest libel. The bishop, instead of encouraging Arnold, and endeavouring to correct the vices of his clergy, adopted the opposite course, and determined, if possible, to crush the reformer; but, unable to do so by his own authority, he denounced him to Pope Innocent II. The second Lateran Council was then sitting. A charge of heresy was brought against Arnold, on which he was condemned; and the magistrates of Brescia were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the Church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and Arnold escaped beyond the Alps, and found a safe and hospitable shelter at Zurich. It was not the only time that the inhabitants of that free and enlightened city opened their doors to a persecuted ecclesiastical reformer.*

The vengeance of the Papal court, however, pursued their victim, even in his new abode. Bernard, the famous Abbot of Clairvaux, notwithstanding his liberal spirit and the freedom from prejudice which he frequently evinced, took up the cause of the triumphant Pope against the persecuted monk; and in a letter which he addressed to the Bishop of Constance, he denounced Arnold in the most unmeasured terms. "Arnold of Brescia," saith he, "is a man who neither eats nor drinks; who, like the devil, is only hungry and thirsty after the blood of souls; who goes to and fro upon the earth, and is always doing among strangers what he cannot do among his own countrymen; who rages like a roaring lion, always seeking whom he may devour. His mouth is full of cursing and bitterness; his feet are swift to shed blood; he is an enemy to the cross of Christ, an author of discords, an inventor of schisms, a disturber of the public peace."†

The violent language in which these censures are conveyed proves, doubtless, that Arnold had many and bitter enemies; but we need some better ground for believing that he really deserved the opprobrious charges which are here brought against him, than is afforded by the *ex parte* assertions of a writer who, however eminent in other respects, was plainly carried away, in the present instance, by the passions of angry controversy.

And accordingly, when we examine other more dispassionate authorities, we see reason to form a very different opinion of the real character of Arnold than could be derived from the above passage. Even in the very epistle from which this citation is made, Bernard is obliged to admit the purity of the reformer's life. "Would to God," saith he, "that his doctrine was as holy as his life is strict."‡ With regard to his doctrinal errors, the only charge which is even alleged against him by the hostile historian, Otto Frisingensis, is, that "he was said to have entertained erroneous sentiments concerning the baptism of infants and the Eucharist."§ Another Roman Catholic historian, Fleury, tells us that Arnold's discourses to the people were taken from Scripture; and it is by no means improbable that his errors regarding the Eucharist may have amounted to this—that he gave the true scriptural view of that holy sacrament, and opposed the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was then rising into notoriety, although it was not formally sanctioned until the third Council of Lateran, about sixty years after Arnold's death.

Dismissing, therefore, these charges, unsupported by facts, and these vague surmises against the character of

See discours fient un tel effet, qu'à Bresse et dans plusieurs autres villes, le clergé tomba dans le dernier mépris, et devint l'objet de la raillerie publique.—Fleury, Hist. Eccl., Tom. xiv. p. 500. Paris, 1761.

* During the severity of the persecution in England in the time of Queen Mary, when Smithfield blazed with the fires kindled by the Romish bishops for the extirpation of the Protestants, many of the Reformers were hospitably received at Zurich, and continued to reside there until the death of Mary.

† Arnoldum loquor de Brizia, qui homo est neque manducans neque bibens, solo cum diabolo curiens et afficiens sanguinem animarum . . . vagus et profugus super terram, quod non licet inter viros, non cessat apud alienos . . . Intermittit crucis Christi, seminatore discordie, fabricatore schismatum, turbatore pacis, unitatis divisor. Bernardi opera. Epist. 196, Tom. i., col. 421. Paris, 1659.

‡ Utinam tam sancte esset doctrina, quam stricte est vita.—ib. Præter hæc, de sacramento aharis et baptismi parvulorum non recte dicitur sensisse.—Otto Frising., De Rept. Gestis, Frid. p. 461. Basil.

§ Expliquant malicieusement l'écriture sainte.—Fleury, Hist. Eccl. Tom. xiv. p. 500. Paris, 1751.

the reformer, we now come to consider the opinions which he really advocated, and for which he may be justly held responsible. They were as follows:—He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ before referred to, that His Kingdom is not of this world. He boldly maintained that the sword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magistrate, and that the abbots, the bishops, and the pontiffs must renounce their worldly pomp and splendour. "He dared," says Guntherus Ligurinus, "to attack the Pope himself. He said that the clergy should have no property, the monks no farms or estates; that holy Scripture did not allow the Popes to levy taxes, or the abbots to court popular applause. He maintained that temporal affairs should only be entrusted to earthly princes; that the clergy should use the first fruits, tithes, and voluntary offerings of the people for necessary sustenance, not for purposes of luxury and carnal gratification, for gluttony, for dress, for unseemly mirth and lascivious pleasures. He utterly condemned the pomp of the bishops, the loose morals of the abbots, and the pride of the monks." And the historian adds, "Arnold spoke much that was true; but our age rejects such faithful warnings."¶ May not the same remarks with justice be applied to the condition of Italy and other Roman Catholic countries in the present day?

Such, then, appear to have been the real sentiments of Arnold of Brescia, taken from the most impartial source; and we can easily perceive how unpalatable such opinions, advocated by no ordinary eloquence, must have been to the worldly-minded, if not profligate, clergy who heard him. We can imagine, too, how unpopular the revival of these opinions would be to the Court of Rome in our own time. It would be interesting to dwell on some of the projects of reform suggested by the foregoing extract; but it is time for us to hasten on with the chequered history of the life of the reformer.

Arnold remained in Switzerland for some years; but at length, animated, perhaps, by a natural longing to breathe the air of his native land, he returned to Italy after the death of Pope Innocent II. He was protected and, perhaps, invited by the nobles and people of Rome; and his eloquence, which had formerly delighted the inhabitants of Brescia, now resounded in the city of the seven hills.¶ He endeavoured to carry into practice the principles which for many years he had consistently advocated, and which his exile had only deepened and confirmed. He exhorted the Romans to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians. He declared that the time had now come when they should throw off the yoke which the Popes had so long imposed on them, and that they should confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock.

The Pope, of course, was very reluctant to surrender his temporal power, however contrary it might be to Scripture and the practice of Christian antiquity. But the party of Arnold at length prevailed, although, from the opposition of the Papal party, the revolution was not accomplished without violence. The reign of the reformer, if so it can be called, continued above ten years, while two Popes, Eugenius III. and Anastasius IV. either trembled in the Vatican or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous Pontiff, Adrian IV., whose original name was Nicholas Breakspere, the only Englishman who has ever ascended the Papal throne.

The new Pope lost no time in adopting the most decisive measures against Arnold and his followers. The capital of Christendom was, for the first time, placed under an interdiction by its spiritual ruler, and, from Christmas to Easter, was deprived of the comforts of religious worship, not for any doctrinal errors, but for resistance to the Pope's temporal power. The Romans at length submitted, though with great reluctance. Arnold and his followers were banished, and took refuge at Otricoli, in Tuscany. This remarkable man seems to have possessed the art of winning the favour of all those who were brought in contact with him. At Brescia, at Zurich, and at Rome, he was the idol of the people; and the inhabitants of Otricoli, in like manner, received him with the utmost affection, and looked upon him as a prophet.

But his career had now drawn to a close. Although Arnold had been banished from Rome, the revenge of Adrian IV. was yet unsatisfied, and the snares of many enemies speedily gathered round the reformer. By some accident which we cannot now explain, he fell into the hands of Gerard, the Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicolas,

¶ Nil proprium cleri, fundos et prædia nullo Jure sacro Monachos, nulli sacella Jura Pontificum; nulli curæ popularis honorum Abbatum, sacra referens concedere leges. Omnia principibus terrenis subdita, tantum Committenda viris popularibus atque regenda. Illis primitias, et quæ devotio pebis Afferat, et Decimas castos in corporis usus, Non ad luxuriam sive oblectamina carnis Concedens, mollesque cibos, cultusque nitorem, Illicitoque jocos, lascivæ gaudia cleri. Pontificum fastus, Abbatum denique laxos Damnavat penitus mores, Monachosque superbos. Venerat multa quidem, nisi tempora nostra fideles Respuerent monitus, falsis admixta doctis.

—Ligurinus apud Nat. Alex. Hist. Eccl., Tom. xiii. p. 175. Paris, 1744.

¶ For the following account we are partly indebted to the accurate pages of Gibbon, whose authorities we have, however, verified.

¶ Gibbon writes, "Innocent II.," but this is a slight mistake. If we can trust the received chronology, Arnold did not arrive in Rome until some time after the death, not only of Innocent II., but of his two successors, Celestinus II. and Lucius II.

from whose custody he was rescued by the Viscounts of Campania. Meanwhile, the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa advanced into Italy. He was anxious to be crowned by the Pope, and the latter did not wish to lose so good an opportunity of ridding himself of an enemy whom he both hated and feared. Two cardinals were sent by Hadrian as ambassadors to the Emperor, the chief object of whose mission was, that Arnold should be given up, to be dealt with as the Pope should determine.

Frederic was tempted by the desire of the imperial crown to comply with this unworthy request: in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account. The Pope had skillfully baited his snare with the gilded bauble for which the Emperor longed; and Frederic, with disgraceful readiness, yielded up the reformer to the vengeance of his implacable foe. Arnold was transferred from the custody of the Viscounts of Campania to that of the Papal ambassadors, by whom he was carried to Rome, and given up to the prefect of the city, who was the obedient servant of the Pope. When the sentence has been pre-determined on by the judge, the trial of the criminal is generally short; and under any circumstances the reformer could scarcely have expected that Adrian would have extended mercy to him. But the anger of Arnold's insatiable enemies could not be appeased unless by the infliction of the most exquisite tortures that infernal malice could devise. The agonies of the two most painful kinds of death of which human nature is capable—*crucifixion* and *burning*—were both united in the present case. Arnold was fastened to a cross, and then burnt alive, in the presence of the assembled multitude; and the ashes of this martyr of freedom were cast into the Tiber, lest the people of Rome, who still loved him in their hearts, should cherish the relics of one who had laid down his life in their cause.*

As Irishmen, we have no cause to love the memory of Pope Adrian IV.; for, as we before remarked, we cannot forget that it is to him we owe the invasion of the rights of our ancient Church and the destruction of our national independence; but we are sorry, nevertheless, that the annals of the only English Pope should be stained by the foul deed of violence and cruelty which has been just described.

Our readers will now be able to understand why Pius IX. should regard with peculiar dislike the memory of Arnold of Brescia, and why, after a lapse of seven centuries, the recollection of that reformer should excite uneasy ideas in his mind. Although every precaution was taken by the enemies of Arnold to blot out the name of the man whom they so cruelly put to death,—although his body was burnt, and his ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven,—yet the faintest allusion to this deed of blood still disturbs the present upholders of Papal tyranny, and the ghost of Arnold of Brescia haunts the slumbers of the present occupant of the Papal chair.

Pope Pius IX. has himself been driven from Rome by his own subjects, like his predecessor, Eugenius III.; he has tasted the bitterness of exile, and he knows full well that, were it not for the support of French bayonets, his throne would not be safe for an hour. The secularisation of the Papal dominions was one of the subjects discussed, it is said, at the late peace congress of Paris, and a reform of the whole constitution of the ecclesiastical government of Rome is by many looked on as inevitable. We shall rejoice if the progress of events should lead to the admission of the light of gospel truth into that noble country from which it has so long been excluded; and if reason and free discussion should be allowed to take the place of lawless tyranny and military force. It is no ordinary sign of the times that an Italian author, writing under the very eyes of the Pope, should have ventured to call Arnold of Brescia a martyr, and should, in consequence, have gained the honour of a place in the Index of prohibited books.

We must now bring our remarks to a close. At different periods of history, the name of Arnold of Brescia has been made the subject of splendid panegyric or of exaggerated calumny. We have endeavoured to avoid both extremes. With his claims to political celebrity we have no concern; but, with respect to his disputes with the Papal power, we may venture to rank him among those earnest but inconsiderate reformers whose premature opposition to established abuses has produced little immediate result, except their own discomfiture and destruction, but whose memory has become dear, as their example has been useful, to a happier and wiser posterity. Such men we celebrate as martyrs to the best of human principles; their very indiscretions we account to them for zeal and virtue; the light which they leave behind them burns on from age to age; and we accord them a place among those benefactors of humanity whose names we would not willingly let die.

¶ Post salutationem vero, litteras ei apostolicas porrexerunt, ad Domini Papæ exposuerunt mandatum. In quibus continebatur, inter cetera, ut redderet eisdem Cardinalibus Arnaldum hæreticum. Rex vero, auditis domini Papæ mandatis, continuo missis apparitoribus cepit unum de vice comitibus illis, qui valde perterritus eundem hæreticum in manibus Cardinalium statim restituit. Muratori, Tom. iii., pars i., pp. 451-442. Mediol. 1723.

¶ The melancholy end of Arnold is detailed in the following lines of the poet:—

"Judicio cleri nostro sub principe victus, Appensusque cruci, flammæ cremanti solutus In cineres, Tiberine, tuas est sparsus in undas, Ne stolidis plebis quæ fecerat improbus error Martyris ossa novo cinerem foret honor.

—Baronius, A.D. 1155, n., Tom. xii., b. 383. Antwerp, 1629.